The linguistic uniformity of the Uighur



Uighurs is only one aspect of their general homogeneity. Almost the whole population is dependent upon agriculture and subsidiary occupations. The chief exception is a group known as Dulani who live in large part by animal husbandry along the banks of the Yarkand and Tarim Rivers. It may be that these are a people in the process of assimilation. Although they speak Uighur they are said to derive from the Kipchak tribe of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. (The main body of Sinkiang Kazakhs belong to the Eastern Horde.) Uncertainty as to the precise relationship of the Dulani is increased by the fact that their womenfolk wear a distinctive style of headgear which is quite similar to that used by Kirghiz women. A still smaller splinter of nonsedentary Uighur-speaking people are the Lopliks, who live in the area of Lob Nor and make their living largely by fishing.[21]

563 * 463 177 ● 291

Apart from these groups the Uighur population as a whole lives either in farmsteads scattered in the fields or in houses ranged along the narrow streets of oasis cities and towns. The houses usually consist of mud-brick apartments grouped around open courtyards. In the summer much of the daily living is carried on in the open bazaars and on streets shaded by poplar trees and mat-covered trellises.

563 * 361 342

The Uighurs have a reputation for being indolent and pleasure-loving, with a special fondness for music, drama, and good eating. Ever since the time of Marco Polo the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin have been particularly noted for the casual relations between the sexes. Divorce is extraordinarily easy, temporary alliances are common, and the family as an institution is unstable to a degree unsurpassed among peoples of Islamic faith.

563 * 181 834

Religion has an uneven influence on the population. The most important positions in the Moslem Church are held by religious leaders who have inherited their posts from a long line of ancestors and most of whom are related to the large landowners and officials who dominate Uighur society. Not surprisingly, therefore, the upper strata of Uighur society include the most ardent supporters of Islam. The poorer classes are indifferent

563 * 565 793

[21] Katanov-Menges.

178 The totally new factor of
154 machine-powered industrialism is now beginning to penetrate the lives of both cultivators and [412] herdsmen. Industrially equipped engineering could lead water to fields which the oasis cultivator, working with his broad-bladed mattock, the traditional Inner Asian *ketman*, could never reach. Modern industry could process the wool and hides of the livestock breeder in ways which the nomadic society was never able to evolve. In addition, it could exploit mineral resources in ways which would make it possible to put together, out of the unjoined fragments which lie scattered through Sinkiang, a new, many-sided society of farming, livestock breeding, mining, industry, [382] technology, and levels of education previously out of reach. Of [135] the primary industrial materials, Sinkiang has oil, coal, and probably iron in large but unknown quantities. It has water power. Of the scarcer industrial materials, it has copper. It also has gold.

177 The industrial civilization is approaching Sinkiang from two sides at once. From China, American planes sometimes fly in. A few American trucks and cars are already there. American bulldozers have pushed better roads nearer and nearer. One strategic road has already crossed a corner of the Tibetan plateau to the line of southern oases. American geologists have prospected the mineral resources. American arms equipped the Chinese forces which held the province in the last years of Kuomintang rule.

Soviet industrialization stands much closer to the frontiers of Sinkiang. It has already transformed the face of Soviet Inner Asia with mines, factories, new irrigation works, hydroelectric dams, and more facilities for advanced industrial training than there are in the whole of China. Soviet trade is essential to Sinkiang; and the only non-Chinese natives of Sinkiang who have had modern university training have received it in Soviet territory, not in China.

41 Today in Sinkiang, however, industry is still negligible, and the two principal types of economy are pastoral nomadism and oasis farming. Most of the oasis farming is in the Tarim Basin, where man brings water to the desert by irrigation. The homeland of nomadism is Jungaria, where man adapted himself to geography by abandoning agriculture and taking to the herding of animals.

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174 538 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 177 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs, (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

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mice.[21] Another series of proverbs which develop the moral that man often provokes his own downfall takes us back to the Indian story cycle *Jatakam*. One of the *Jatakam* tales tells of the sparrow who, trying to stop two goats from fighting, flies between them and is crushed.[22] We have only to compare this with the Uighur proverb, "Two stallions are fighting and a fly is squashed," [23] to see the parallel. The Uighur proverb, "When the mouse shall die, it scratches the testes of the cat," [24] also has its counterpart in the *Jatakam* series, such as the tale about the goat which is about to be saved from slaughter because there is no knife, whereupon the goat digs up a knife accidentally from the ground and is slaughtered with it. This story also occurs in a Greek tale and is echoed in an Arab proverb "Don't be like the sheep which perished by digging with its hoofs." There is some controversy as to the way this story came to Sinkiang and became an Uighur proverb. Fraenkel [25] claims that its origin was Greece, whence it traveled to the Arabs and with Arab merchants to Sinkiang and India. R. Pischel, however,[26] avers that the fact that it occurred in the *Jatakam* proves its Indian origin.

Many of the Uighur tales belong to general Turkic and Iranian Inner Asian story cycles and are the offspring of Inner Asian written folk tales. Such is the story of Hamra,[27] which roughly follows the theme of the popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man.[28] Others again are retold versions of romances of the famous fifteenth-century Uzbek poet, Ali-sher Newai. Such are the tales

[21] Comp. *Panchatantra*, (T. Benfey,) Leipzig, 1859, II, pp. 194–195.
[22] Comp. R. Pischel; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 47, 86–87 (hereafter "ZDMG").
[23] C. Brockelman, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, Heft 1/4, 71, No. 255.
[24] Brockelman, *op. cit.*, No. 225.
[25] *Das Schaf und das Messer*, ZDMG, 47, pp. 737–740.
[26] ZDMG, 47, 88.
[27] V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur d. Turkischen Staemme Suedsibiriens*, VI, pp. 114–130; G. Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki*.
[28] H. Vambery, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 35.

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538 of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy
177 and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

773 A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim
538 Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence.

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

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538 ture, based not only on the traditional forms of Kazakh oral
177 poetry, but also on such Western literary forms as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The rapid rise in literacy enabled the new literature to become truly the property of the people. The new themes are concerned with modern problems such as the Civil War, the Five Year Plans, the building of a socialist society and the war against Nazi Germany.

Despite the fact that there are available no texts collected from the Sinkiang Kazakhs, it may be assumed that the social and national upheaval of the Kazakhs on the Russian side of the border has influenced the oral art of the Kazakhs in Sinkiang, particularly since the Russo-Chinese border never presented a serious barrier to the movement of nomads.

538 The main cultural heritage of the Kirghiz, like that of the Kazakhs, is in their tradition of oral art and in a strongly developed sense of music; but epic poetry is even more strongly developed. Many of the Turkic national tales, legends, and heroic episodes have been amalgamated by the Kirghiz into a huge national epos, which has recently been completely recorded for the first time by Soviet ethnographers and folklorists. This national epos, *Manas*,[47] deals primarily with the Kirghiz struggle against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is depicted as a religious fight of the Mohammedan true believers against the infidels. It gives a detailed picture of the life and customs of the Kirghiz, with descriptions of battles, family life, marriage, death ceremonies, feasts. According to Radlov in the nineteenth century and to recent Soviet ethnologists, this epos is still very much alive among the Kirghiz people, and practically every Kirghiz can recite parts of it. Since the Soviet Revolution, the Soviet Kirghiz have developed a considerable body of new literature, in which they have taken over the Western forms of the novel and the drama, in addition to the use of their old traditional epic and poetic forms.

[47] The most recent and most complete translation into Russian is: U. Dzhekishev *et al.*, eds., *Manas*, Moscow, 1946, 370 pp.

2: Norins S-4 (1939-1941) 1944 All Sinkiang All
Mongol
Kirghiz

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

*The Kirgiz*

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz*, "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All



Ferghana to the west, an older land than Semirechia and no less fair. The Islamic culture of Kashgar comes from the ancient cities of Ferghana; its minstrels still sing of Marghilan, the Silver City, its ballads tell of the days when there were Khans in Khokand. The Russians before the War had brought their railway to Andijan, and for years the caravan-route over the Terek Pass from that town was the least arduous of the roads to Kashgar. Thus it is that such little foreign influence as has left its mark upon this place is Russian. But in Central Asia the triumph of politics over nature is short-lived, and the trade between Kashgar and Russian Turkistan is a mere shadow of its former self. To the south of Ferghana lay the secluded mountain lands of Eastern Bokhara, another ancient Khanate. Time was when the Oxus and its affluent the Surkhab saw the caravans passing to and fro between Persia and Cathay; long before the Revolution, the organization by the Russian Government of the Andijan route had diverted traffic from the ancient Silk Road, but the glories of Bokhara and far Samarkand were household words in Kashgar none the less. Now the age-old Chinese policy of seclusion has once more prevailed, and the city of Tamerlane is as remote from Kashgar as Roum—Constantinople—itself. Then, to the south-west beyond the Pamirs, Afghanistan, now emerging from the shelter of her mountain walls into the dusty arena of the twentieth century; then the "Rough Bounds," as they would call them in the Highlands, of Dardistan and Baltistan across which we came; and last Tibet, the true Roof of the World, still remote and mysterious in spite of the long but narrow searchlight-beam of publicity which has lately fallen upon it.

Ignorance in Kashgaria of the outside world is still profound. Strangers, especially "Afghans," under which generic term Indians, Persians and Bokharans as well as genuine Afghans are grouped, are called "travellers" (*musafir*), or "men who have crossed the passes" (*davan-ashti*), for the road to Leh and India is often referred to as the "Seven Passes." What little knowledge there is of India and its English protectors is confined to Kashgar, Yarkand and the oases of the south; along the north-east road, in Maralbashi, Aqsu, Kucha, etc., the vaguest ideas prevail. Nor do their Chinese rulers enlighten the inhabitants; quite the reverse. Some of those we met had very hazy ideas themselves as to what was "beyond the passes." Harding told me that they visualized India, if

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All



at all, as a mountainous frontier province of "England," inhabited entirely by turban-heads (Chan-t'ou) over whom ruled a white race only slightly less barbarous than themselves. I remember once being told by an inspecting officer from Urumchi who called on me about the road across the Gobi Desert to China Proper: "It is not so dangerous as it used to be," he said, perfectly seriously. "The route the caravans used to go by between Hami and Tunhwang became infested by stone dragons, which breathed fire and storm and devoured many travellers. They got so bad, that the government sent out a detachment of troops against them. But the stone dragons devoured the troops too. So the route had to be declared closed and now travellers go by a longer one where there are no stone dragons." Another Magistrate with whom I was talking about the elusive "cloudy tiger" of the Tarim River jungles was very contemptuous about this animal, which he admitted he had never seen. "It is like the Turban-head, mild and cowardly," he said. "The real Chinese tiger is a very different animal. It is twice as big as the Maralbashi tiger, and it bears on its forehead the royal symbol, Wang. Wherever it goes, a strong wind follows it. Thus is it recognized."[1]

Every now and again some sight or incident would bring forcibly home to me the Arcadian isolation in which the people of the country lived. One day while walking near the Aqsu Gate I came upon a small crowd lining the bank above one of the few short pieces of level road near the city. Wondering what they were looking at, I joined them and saw—a young man vigorously pedalling a bicycle up and down. The crowd gazed in awed silence. I got into conversation with a man who told me that this "velocipede" was the only one in Kashgar and that its owner occasionally gave exhibitions. He did not think that anyone else in Kashgar knew how to ride a velocipede.

[1] So tall were some of the yarns with which I was solemnly regaled by dear old mandarins, that had it not been for the fact that they obviously believed every word they said I would have taken it for granted that they were trying to pull my leg. One, who evidently thought I had never seen a yak, told me some remarkable facts about that animal. He said that a yak will dig his horn into the mountain-side and thus swing his body across a steep face, using his horn as a pivot. More wonderful still, when a loaded yak comes to a corner in a narrow cliff-path where a rock juts out and prevents his getting his load round in the ordinary way, he turns inward, facing the cliff, and *sidles* round the corner with his hind legs over the edge!

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144 and southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert is the same as that still found among the valleys of the Italian Alps and the Caucasus—found, too, by Stein in the third-century graves of Loulan at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.

I have already referred in Chapter V to the illustration afforded by Kashgaria of the racial continuity and persistence of a population firmly rooted in the soil, especially when the extreme fertility of that soil depends entirely upon an elaborate system of irrigation. This permanence is in striking contrast with the state of perpetual change and flux which has through the ages characterized the history of Central Asia as a whole. Throughout the vast spaces of Mongolia, Dzungaria and Turkistan the winds of migration and conquest have swept to and fro; from the Gobi Desert to the Euxine, from Châlons to the Yellow Sea, the great nomad peoples, Hun and Turk and Mongol, have ransacked the world in the lust of dominion and the search for new grazings. Over the Tarim Basin, too, they have passed time after time, but they have left little impress upon it.[1] The reason is not far to seek. With a rainfall of but two or three inches per annum, the grass that pastoral peoples need scarcely exists.

> "Nature" (says Stein) "by denying grazing-grounds to the vast basin between Kunlun and Tien Shan, has protected it against ever becoming the scene of great migratory movements and of such upheavals as are bound to accompany them." [1]

It is the aridity of its climate, then, as well as the seclusion afforded by some of the greatest mountain ranges of the planet, that has preserved the population of the Tarim Basin relatively intact since the dawn of its history in the second century before Christ. But it is not this continuity alone that lends such exceptional interest to the history of the
• 177 region. There are people with as high a lineage in other secluded parts of Asia and Europe. The peculiar feature of the history of the Tarim Basin is the fact that throughout a vast period of historical time it served as the channel through which the ancient civilizations of China on the one side and of Persia and India on the other maintained contact and to an appreciable extent reacted upon each other.

176 From the second century before Christ to the eighth century of our era there flourished in these oases a civilization in which, though it was predominantly Indo-Scythian, cultural

[1] "Geographical Journal," May, 1925, p. 403.

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and bolts, the driver falls off the "box" and the carriage upsets. The supposed actors are duly captured and dragged off to the brigands' lair. Here they are made to play and dance for the amusement of the Chief, who is a magnificent sight in his voluminous yellow embroidered robe, huge black and red mask of appalling ferocity and head-dress of immense size and complexity. At the psychological moment the actors throw off their cloaks and draw their weapons; a battle-royal ensues in which the Chief of the Brigands, fighting for his life, lays about him in the most approved style. Eventually the rescue-party defeat the robbers, take their Chief prisoner, and escort the Governor back to his capital in triumph. During the last half-hour of this performance the noise made by the orchestra passed all bounds. The musicians were specially reinforced by men with brass trays and large solid cymbals which they clashed and banged until I, for one, felt as if they were performing directly on my nervous system. D. said afterwards that hers, especially in her feet, was so numbed by cold and the absorption of thirty odd courses of shark's fin, sea-slug, etc., that the noise scarcely affected it. We eventually escaped with difficulty at midnight, having been there since a quarter past six; the theatre was still in full swing and the children were still looking on. Wonderful people, the Chinese.

*Zanguya, 30th March.*

Two rather interesting persons were in possession of the rest-house when we arrived and courteously turned out to make room for us. They might be called "Sino-Turkis," for they are Muhammadans of Khotan who for the sake of preferment have adopted Chinese manners, speech and dress. I asked them round to tea and made them tell me all about themselves in their native Turki. One of them said that he had been sent to the Chinese school as a child (doubtless by ambitious parents of the Beg class), and at the age of twenty-five or so had been selected by the Amban of his district (Lop) out of twenty-seven candidates to represent it on the Provincial Council at Urumchi; "Doumalik" he called himself, explaining. The Council or "Douma" of Sinkiang is an advisory body summoned by the Governor, the members of which are theoretically representative of the people, one from each administrative district, but are really nominated by the Ambans; they sit for a fixed term of three years. Our friends had been much impressed by their time at Urumchi and spoke with bated breath of the capital and its ruler; the process of Sinization has evidently been complete. The men impressed me favourably; their manners were perfect and their speech cultivated. One of them in particular, Rajab by name, was most intelligent and looked a thorough gentleman with his neat, short black beard and moustache, black velvet cap trimmed with marten-skin and black satin fur-lined Chinese clothes. He said he was on his way to Karghalik where he had been appointed "Suloya" or chief of police; his friend was going to Goma in a similar capacity.

It seems that Chinese dress is essential for all Turkis who are candidates for Ambanships. But I notice that these men's costume is not purely Chinese; like the designs on Khotan embroidery and carpets, it is a mixture of Mussulman and Chinese. They wear the Turki *tumāq* or cap, as well as the *ōtek* and *kafsh-massi* or Russian

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boots and overshoes of Kashgar. Besides Wang Tungling of Uch Turfan, I have heard of two or three other cases of Sinized Turkis holding office. Not long ago I met a Bai man of the same type who was passing through Kashgar on his way to the Pamirs as a *wei-yuan* to inquire on behalf of the Urumchi Government into the complaints of the Sariqolis against their Magistrate. Then there was a Mussulman Amban of Kelpin who was relieved of his appointment quite recently after two or three years' tenure; he was not a success, I believe.

*Zawa, 1st April.*

We have been lucky in having perfect weather at this time of year for the crossing of the sandy belt between Zanguya and this place. We might have been caught in one of the sandstorms (Turki *burân*) for which early summer is notorious in these parts. Harding had a most unpleasant time in one last May. Whole caravans have been lost on this section of the road, missing the track in a storm and wandering out into the Takla Makan, where the water is 200 ft. or more below ground-level. For centuries the track has been marked every hundred yards or so on the worst bits by "basket potais" or curious elongated baskets about four feet in length placed on end and filled with sand. It is wonderful how long these last and how the baskets, or remnants of them, remain in position even when upset, as they usually are; stone posts would have sunk into the sand long ago. There are also of course the ordinary "potais" or towers of mud-brick at intervals of ten Chinese *li* (2¼ m.) which are, or ought to be, found along all main roads; these make excellent landmarks.

*Khotan, 7th April.*

The fast of Ramazan began a few days ago, and is rather a trial to us as well as to the greedy Turkis. They miss their food in the daytime; we miss our sleep at night. Badruddin's house where we are staying has a fine garden at the back, but the house itself is in the middle of the bazaar and we get the full benefit of the turning of night into day which marks Ramazan in the towns. The walls of the houses are merely lath and plaster and sounds travel through them like paper. The whole town seems to be talking at once until nearly midnight, when the chief meal of the 24 hours is cleared away. Then at 2.30 a.m. the drums begin beating to awaken the Faithful for the preparation of the second meal of the night. These tom-toms are dreadful; they go on for an hour or more, varied only by the monotonously-chanted refrains of the singing dervishes. From four onwards the whole town is wide awake and busy either cooking, talking or intoning the *sahri* or prayer of dawn. Add to this the normal early-morning noises of Kashgaria, cocks crowing, donkeys braying, birds twittering, pigeons cooing, cows lowing, horses neighing and stumping about in their stalls. . . . If one's blood is well oxygenated, as it is on the march, one listens to this sort of thing for an hour or so and sleeps the rest of the night soundly enough; in a town this is not so easy.

*Lop, 8th April.*

W——, Amban of this district, is a refreshingly unconventional official. Last year when he was late at the wayside tea-drinking

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The S [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in S N Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, 631 "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; 795 the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintend- 649 ant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, 659 "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the S N province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

175 631 647 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

S
W A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
[27] western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
[434] Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[431] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
S around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
563 able resources.
62 The designation for these small economic and migrational
[594] units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[613] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
[597] Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
563 Wives of members of these extended families are also
621 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
593 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
562 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 179 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of

S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken

N [191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a

N 563 794 179 184 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous 1779 culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 181 IV. Dominant Social Motives.

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN 181 77 [769] cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

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N **E. Population Problems**

563 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese
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669 Of the many problems in regard to the population of North-
648 west China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems
175 and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, west of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S
648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

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642 2. The Uighur Autonomy
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[668] Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S
167 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has
708 occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day
466 Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S
642 "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang,
668 the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with
177 the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

642 668 177 it was announced that altogether 1,000 officials from the same offices (the majority of them Party and Youth Corps members of whom one tenth are higher officials), will be transferred to Sinkiang to serve in the Regional County and Ch'ü offices and in the Economic Projects. (People's Daily, August 21, 1955).

The politico-economical development of Sinkiang follows the same pattern as that of the interior of China. All the detailed facts of using Chinese in party meetings, introducing a new currency in place of Sinkiang currency, etc., show that Autonomous Sinkiang is an integral part of China. The sufferers in the whole process are the aboriginal inhabitants of Sinkiang for they are expected to make the greatest sacrifices, greater even than those of the population of the rest of China, for the economic and military strengthening of the Communist world.

668 631 177 162 At the beginning of the new regime in 1949, Sinkiang was called (as it had been under the Nationalist Government) a province - divided into ten special districts and these were subdivided into seventy-nine counties. In 1954, Five Autonomous "Chou" were established. Four of them were established in July, 1954. They contain three counties each, while the former special Districts contained, on an average, ten counties each. The population of three of these Autonomous "Chou" is 57,000, 98,000 and 135,000. Three of the Autonomous "Chou" were Mongolian and the other two were Moslem. In November, 1954, the largest Autonomous "Chou" was established in the Ili Valley, called the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Area with a population of 70,000 (P.D. December 6, 1954, or NCNA December 2, 1954).

On September 20, 1955, it was stated that the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was to replace "Sinkiang Province." It was also announced that the establishment of the smaller Autonomous "Chou" within Sinkiang had now been concluded with the establishment of five Autonomous Chou and six Autonomous Counties (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 14, 1955).

In fact, however, the population in these Autonomous Chou and Autonomous Counties does not exceed 500,000, which is less than one tenth of the total population of Sinkiang which is officially set at 4,780,000 people. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 15, 1955). Thus the extension of autonomous rule is limited - a sign that the erection of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Area itself has only a token significance in spite of the fact that the Uighurs number 3.6 million constituting seventy to eighty percent of the total population of the province.

631 131 668 177 The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is not an easily accessible area. In the past, its geographical isolation has been aggravated by the seclusion policy of the Communist regime for

S
631 political and military reasons. After the last British Consulate
131 of Kashgar was closed, the curtain has become even more
668 impenetrable there than in any other part of China. Not even
172 Chinese are allowed to travel into Sinkiang without special
(648) permits.

N F. Northwest As An Outlet for Chinese Overpopulation
167 The Northwest Region has been long regarded by the Chinese
185 as one of the major outlet areas for China's overpopulation. Once the plans to conserve water and soil are completed - especially along the Yellow River in Shensi and Kansu - arable land will be considerably extended. But water and soil conservancy will involve a lot of problems before the land is actually made productive - not to mention that its sustaining capacity is limited. Therefore the Northwest as an outlet for China's overpopulation is tentative and should only be regarded as a
N partial and temporary solution.
311 1. Extension of Arable Land by Irrigation and Soil Conservancy
185 According to plan the irrigated area in the mid-Yellow River Basin will grow from 12,717,000 acres at present to some 19,105,000 acres. Agricultural output in the irrigated area will more than double. Annual grain output will increase by 6,741,000 long tons and cotton by 590,000 long gons. The loess regions with their barren mountains and desolate gullies covering 143,000 square miles, will become a land of plenty. Most of the land for irrigation development under the project will be in the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. ("China's Sorrow" Will Be No More - The Taming and Exploiting of the Yellow River, by Li Jui, People's China, August 6, 1955, p. 9-15).

S The area of arable land in Sinkiang has also been extended,
311 but it is not easy to ascertain by how much or by what means.
185 In 1953 it had reached twenty million mou, 4,100,000 more than in 1949 (PD. August 28, 1955); in 1954 more than 5,000,000 mou above 1949, i.e. a total of 21 million mou (KM. September 15, 1955; by 1955 22 million mou (PD. October 31, 1955).

According to the above figures, the increase between 1949 and 1955 would be six million mou. But there appear some discrepancies with other information. The difficulty is that the 1950 data for the extension of arable land in Sinkiang was not 16 million but 18.195 million mou (Newspaper Reading Handbook, Hankow, p. 25, 1950). Thus if the present data are reliable, the 1949-55 increase would be three million mou instead of six million, of which 1,100,000 mou are due to the labor of the Army Agrarian Production Troops.

S According to official reports, in 1953, 1.6 million tons of
433 food stuffs were produced in Sinkiang (PD. August 28, 1955). About the production in 1954, it is known that there was an

433 Agrarian Production Troops. More than 40,000 mou are
648 using machines bought from Soviet Russia. The Army Agrarian
167 Production Troops themselves produced 31,000 tons of winter
466 wheat crop on 440,000 mou (124 catty per mou) in the spring of 1955. They are expected to produce 23,500 tons of cotton on 150,000 mou (310 catty per mou) in the same year. (PD. October 9, 1955). Eighty thousand out of the 150,000 mou cotton are at the Manas River (PD. June 29, and October 1, 1955). Forty-five percent of the total agricultural work of the Army troops is now being done by machines. (Report of Tao Shih-yu eh, Cf. CNA. No. 103, p. 2 or PD. September 27, 1955). In 1954 the total cotton cultivating area in Sinkiang was 800,000 mou. In 1955 it was supposed to be increased to 1,160,000 mou (PD. March 9, 1955).

The working troops of the Army are also developing virgin soil with the help of 184 tractors. The development of 600,000 mou south of Tien-shan chain of mountains was planned for 1955. It was reported in May and June 1955 that the troops had already broken up 20,000 mou of virgin land. Around Urumchi, one tractor works ten mou in an hour.

The Army is also taking part in the industrial development of Sinkiang and since 1950 has been constructing a textile mill, and iron and steel plant, a cement works, a power generator factory and coal mines. (PD. April 4, 1952; KM March 3, 1954; PD March 13, October 30, 1954 and July 14, 1955: KM September 16, 1955; and PD September 27, 1955).

"It would seem strange that the regular Army should engage in all these works. The production and construction troops which undertake the most arduous labor in inhuman, primitive conditions, undoubtedly consist of that multitude condemned to corrective labor in the border areas, of whom the Ministry of Public Security spoke of as people who will never come back from the border areas." (Cf. CNA Nos. 53 and 56.)

167 In addition to the exile of corrective laborers, a great number
466 of youngsters, boys and girls (apart from thousands of Party
• 197 cadres and several hundred thousands of soldiers) even from Junior Middle Schools are also being transferred to Sinkiang. In one single group 540 such youngsters traveled from Nanking (PD. August 26, 1955). The idea probably is that these youngsters going at an early age to Sinkiang will be more easily acclimatized.

3. A Resume of Possibilities and Their Limitations.

433 It has been estimated that the planned annual increase of 6.2 million long tons of grain can at most support another two million people at the present low standard of living of an average Chinese peasant. At least three million mou of irrigated land have been added in Sinkiang from 1949-55. It is said that in Sinkiang 110,000,000 mou could be added to the present 22,000,000.

summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Government erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages, towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

1. Physical characteristics

Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live exclusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine, europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces, heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to 1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European Alps.

2. Economic activities

The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language, and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan. They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan of the Golden Horde.

The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows, full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[791] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alpha-
[212] bet. They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught about 1750.

3. Social organization

[193] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habitat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Mos-
[791] lems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[175] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
[361] only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three villages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.

[197] 1. Physical characteristics

563 Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
142 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However, in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

In 1940 the
212 Taranchis of the Ili valley, especially those living in Russian
• 177 territory, abandoned Latin script in favor of Russian script. There is no doubt that in several years Russian script will have replaced Arabic script among the Turks of Sinkiang. This statement is based upon three reasons: 1) in 1917, at the time of the Soviet revolution the Eastern Turks of Soviet territory established a new literary language, the so-called New Uighur literary language. Soviet scholars in Moscow determined the final form of the grammar, vocabulary, and orthography of the new language and also determined the type of literature which could be published. Undoubtedly this will influence the literature of the
[668] Eastern Turks. 2) The forthcoming Turkish nationalism will consider any achievement in this direction as a national aim rather than as an element of secondary sovietization. 3) The Chinese Communist government is contemplating the replacement of the Mongolian and the Arabic alphabets by the Russian.

104 F. Tables of Transcriptions
114 Table I. The scientific systems of transcription for Eastern Turkish used by Radloff, Le Coq, Hartmann, Kunos, Raquette, and the API (Association Phonetique Internationale)

| Radloff | Le Coq | Hartmann | Kunos | Raquette | API |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

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212 Table III. The Russian symbols which are in the process of
179 introduction.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Аа | Ээ | Нњњъ | Уу | Ццц |
| Бб | Ии | Оо | Ўў | Ьь |
| Вв | Йй | Өө | Фф | Ъъ |
| Гг | Кк | Пп | Хх | Ыы |
| Дд | Лл | Рр | Цц | Ээ |
| Ее | Мм | Сс | Чч | Юю |
| Жж | Нн | Тт | Шш | Яя |

193 G. Sketch of Eastern Turkish

As Eastern Turkish is an agglutinative language, the dialect can be described most simply by presenting the index of suffixes, the only grammatical means of modification. With the use of such an index, the general reader when knowing the meaning of a stem, should be able to figure out the grammatical function of the suffix concerned.

The genitive suffix: -nïŋ, -niŋ
quduq "the fountain," quduqnïŋ "of the fountain"

The dative suffix: -ɣa, -gɛ
öj "the house," öjgɛ "to the house, in the direction of the house"

The accusative suffix: -nï, -ni
ɯj "ox," ɯɣnï "the ox" (direct object)

The locative suffix: -dæ , -dɛ
qïz "the girl," qizdæ "at the girl's, with the girl"

The ablative suffix: -dïn, -din
kül "the ashes," küldin "from the ashes"

The plural suffix: -læ-r, -lɛr
jürɛk "the heart," jürɛkler "the hearts"

The diminutive suffix: -ǰa, -ǰɛ
baɣ "the garden," baɣǰa "the little garden"

The professional suffix
ötmɛk "to pass by," ötmɛkči "the passer-by"

The suffix of ordinal numbers: -indʒi, -ïndʒï, -undʒi, -ɯndʒï
beš "five," bešindʒi "the fifth"

The possessive suffixes:
1. pers. sg. -ïm, -im, -öm, -əm, -üm, -um, -ɯm, -ɯm, -om, -əm
2. pers. sg. -ïŋ, -iŋ, -öŋ, -əŋ, -üŋ, -uŋ, -ɯŋ, -oŋ, -əŋ
3. pers. sg. and pl. -si, -sï, -i, -ï
1. pers. pl. -ïmïz, imiz, ömiz, -əmiz, -ümiz, -umïz, -ɯmïz, -omïz, -əmiz
2. pers. pl. -ïŋïz, -iŋiz, -öŋiz, -əŋiz, -üŋiz, -uŋiz, -ɯŋiz, -oŋïz, -əŋiz

S N 191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bilingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S 197 162 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects. The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S 563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World [S 191] War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S [177] [197] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian language closely related to Persian.

S [167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of 25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S N 212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g. Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic ۏ while Uighur writes ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter ا while Uighur writes it the following way ئا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

S
563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-
S u jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristo-
[565] cracy and the clergy are highly respected by the kara kümün. The members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or Tibetan aristocratic clans.

S
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[197]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
*563 and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general sedentary population.

N The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
*563 "tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po (elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman for the group.

N Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
*563 his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent. Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may include one or several servants or hanger-on who help in the work in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants con-
[562] sist of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[922] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[777] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploitation through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been introduced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta. Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk- local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent of Agriculture.

As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the official having authority over water rights and water distribution. In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordinates.

Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly consisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This governmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are still found today.

The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo far-reaching changes under the Communist government. However, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics, as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced. Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings will be brought more and more into accordance with the new ideals of the society.

B. The Sedentary Tibetans

Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 763 769

making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

e. Festivals and holidays

S N 563 796

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

5. Present day conditions

S N 563 795 668 199

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423]

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

As
563 their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.
[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.
[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[363] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Imperial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
327 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
267 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
556
177

# ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

## J. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

### A. General Introduction

563 519 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] [668] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

### B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[175] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

[197] [177] In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[756] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

563 538 175 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, nd the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 175 173 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
533 tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
[199] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

563 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles
538 against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists
538 The Western forms of the novel and drama have been intro-
• 179 duced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fic-
668 tion produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 538 1177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

175 532 D. Artistic Expression

The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manu[538] scripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
192 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art (177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
799 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
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286 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the
531 production of the famous oriental rugs, in needlework and also
• 199 in metal works (Kashgar and Yarkand are also important centers of rug weaving). The design of many of the rugs is a most interesting mixture of Persian and Chinese styles. The whole treatment is unmistakeably Persian, though many small details are Chinese. The same blending of the Far with the Near East is found in the beautiful embroidery of Khotan. The stitch chiefly used in the embroidery is the Turkish chain stitch, which is not found in the embroidery in China, but the wave and cloud patterns, the butterflies and some of the flowers are definitely of Chinese design. Khotan is also famous for its craftsmanship in brass and copper household utensils decorated with
328 531 415 elaborate floral designs in pierced metal work.

286 294 531 [199] Kuch in the north has been famous for generations for the gold and silver embroidery on velvet. Women's indoor caps are the chief article of manufacture. The design as a whole is Persian, but the use of circular medallions in embroidery on robes is a Chinese device.

53 517 199 198 There has been a tremendous decline in all these works of art and articrafts in the present century, mainly because of the availability of factory-manufactured cheap objects of daily use, from both Russia and China proper. Thus, the carpets of Khotan and the surrounding country are slowly disappearing, and their quality has gone down. The expensive handmade items are replaced by the cheap materials provided by modern industry. The class of artists and artisans has declined, since it is impossible for them to compete with new imported products.

517 532 199 668 The artistic expressions inspired by the new Communist regime are totally different from the old indigenous ones. They center around paintings and statues glorifying the present-day leaders, and describing episodes from the life of the newly "liberated" working class. Nothing could be more foreign to the spirit and traditions of the Eastern Turkis.

E. Music and Dance

533 527 The taste for music and dance is highly developed in Sinkiang, and it constitutes the main means of entertainment for important social occasions. There are professional musicians (maghmatchi) organized in bands of three or four individuals, available for hire. At many public feasts, a band is hired for entertainment. The musicians chant as they play their instruments. The tunes are simple, composed primarily for accompaniment to the dance, or, more often, improvised. To the Western-trained ear, both tune and rhythm are monotonous.

534 [199] Most of the musical instruments used in these bands are of Persian origin. Grenard lists the following instruments:

Doutar—a long guitar with two strings.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] [114] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the old pre-Islamic times.

533 535 177 668 The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural activities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.
177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
873 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
563 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
668 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five
• 177 departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

S In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

S The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
199 and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the de-
• 177 velopment of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken
[691] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese sec-
[892] ular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their
794 observance of religious practices. There is only a small number
563 of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites.
[796] Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem
798 saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

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795 796 798 to religions other and older than Islam. The Moslem priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship of certain shrines, adopted those shrines and named them after Islamic personages.

The Turki is a great believer in the efficacy of local saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over the country dedicated not only to the "imams," but to later saints and heroes. These sanctuaries usually have some beliefs and observances attached to them, connected either with the curing of diseases or with the bearing of children. At shrines of the latter type, the majority of pilgrims are women. The mullas have therefore been obliged, for the sake of propriety, in each case to invent a female saint, complete with legend, to bring the cult in line with Islam. The [798] [769] popular names of the shrines reveal that most of these cults have been derived from the ancient practices of ancestor worship.

791 796 Paganism, as well as ancestor worship, is still prevalent in this land despite a thousand years of Islam. Many of the religious festivals, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar, are more pagan than Moslem. They are merely popular gatherings for the purpose of feasting and enjoyment, and are probably older than Islam.

793 794 The clergy in Sinkiang is divided into two categories: the judges and the priests in one, and the simple clerks in the other (the mullas). The latter class includes all males who can read and write and wear a turban. Above these mullas, there is a class of mosque officials with specific functions: the Muazzin, who calls the believers to attend the daily prayers, the Imam, who leads the services, the Mutakib, in charge of seeing that the laws of the Koran are observed, the Reis, prefect of discipline, the Khatib, who delivers the Friday sermon, and the mulla a'lam, doctor of law who is also in charge of the circumcision ceremony.

793 [423] The resources of the clergy consisted mostly of waqf, land property which had been donated to them or confiscated by them. In spite of the Chinese confiscations of clergy landed property, until recent times this constituted an important source of income for the clergy. Other clergy sources are the Zakat, donations from richer believers, casual fees, judicial fees, and fees paid for marriages, funerals and so forth. The Zakat is not a very substantial source of income, as the Sinkiang Moslems are lax in adhering to this obligation. At present it is almost impossible for the clergy to subsist without resorting to some secular occupation.

793 692 [799] The judicial power and the police functions of the clergy in the past have diminished greatly during the Chinese administration. The Qazis judge cases which are brought voluntarily to

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/Chinese Moslems/

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

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Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

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Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

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In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

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The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
* 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

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795 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
668 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
• 177 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.

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[635] The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighurs. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

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ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the association was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.

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In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cultural associations established by the Communists, have supplemented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

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3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say that they were permitted to observe their festivals.

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Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

795 668 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were accentuated in the 1930's by the introduction of pan-Islamic ideals from India. These ideals for a union of Moslem peoples which transcends national boundaries, fired the imagination of the Turkic peoples of Sinkiang and bolstered their nationalistic aspirations. As they served to mobilize Turkestanian nationalists to oppose Nationalist rule in the 1940's, so they have inspired Turkestanian resistance against the Communists since 1949. In speeches and in publications, the Communist leaders 795 668 have vehemently denounced pan-Islam as a major obstacle to the 177 policy of bringing the native peoples of Turkestan into the "great family of nationalities" of Communist China.

Perhaps, because pan-Islam is still an incohate movement, having attractive and high-sounding goals but not the organization and strength to achieve these goals, the Chinese Communists, despite their denunciation of it, have not regarded it as a great threat in comparison to that of other religions, like, for example, the Roman Catholic Church, which have external ties. Consequently, in the first years of Communist rule, they proclaimed a policy of benevolence toward the Moslems largely for the propaganda value of such a policy.

A number of Moslem fellow-travelers readily responded, and other Moslem leaders, out of self-interest, also acquiesced to the Communists. Still others hoped to carry on even under the narrow restrictions imposed upon them by the Communist government. The majority of the Moslem peoples of the Northwest, learning from the experience of their co-religionists in Soviet Central Asia, have evolved a way of life which is to live in the Communist world without becoming a part of it. Privately, they still regard themselves as belonging to the Moslem world.

795 798 668 177 A large number of the Moslems in Chinese Turkestan, following the militant tradition of their forefathers, chose to resist the Communists, and the Communists treated them, not as Moslems, but as counter-revolutionaries. Consequently, while proclaiming their policy of benevolence toward the Moslems, a policy reserved for only those who submit, the Communists also carried out a violent program of persecution. As soon as they entered Sinkiang in 1949, the first act of the Chinese Communists was to undermine the influence of the Moslem clergy. A number of religious institutions were closed, and the landed property of the clergy—the waqf—were confiscated. Chinese 692 Communist judges took over the judicial functions of the qadi and the people's courts took over the handling of criminal and civil cases, while the so-claimed cultural cadres assumed the guidance of the daily life of the people. The local branches of the China Islamic Association and other mass organizations supplanted the leadership of the Moslem clergy. With institution of

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civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

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But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

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B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

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Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

000 communities.

795 668 179 The Russian Orthodox Church in Sinkiang had quite a different fate.[1] By 1938 the Vicariate of Urumchi comprised eight parishes and counted fifteen thousand faithful. It was headed by Mgr. Juvenal Kilm, who in the meantime has been promoted to the Archbishopric of Omsk. Archpriest Dimitry Mlodzyanovky is now active in Urumchi, and it is reported that the number of believers is increasing.

1. [In contrast to the Roman Catholic church in Northwest China, see pp. 359-361--Analyst]

N 204 668 177 12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia.

S 204 668 177 Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet, guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
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5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

549 668 1177 443 On November 2, 1952, the Qomul (Hami) branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store established the first "self-service" sales station. In November, 1952, in Urumchi (Tihua), the store organized 116 special individual distributors in the various units of government offices, schools and military forces. At the same time, four more sales stations were established.

[489] [705] To ship the bulky and heavy books to the whole province, the Hsin-hua Book Store utilized the army transportation facilities. With the help of the army, 1,280,000 copies of elementary and middle school textbooks were delivered.

In August, 1952, Hsin-hua Book Store organized a moving supply section to go deep into the nomadic counties Barkul (Cheng-hsi), Ch'ang-chi, Hu-t'u-pi (Ching-hua) together with the Visiting Group of Sinkiang Provincial Government. It also established a [205] mail order department, accepting also orders for books published in other places in the country and the Soviet Union (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 11, 1953).

Distribution of Communist books has been pushed tremendously by the organized force of the Party. The distribution of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in Uighur and Kazakh started with the organization of a distributing committee at every level of the Party organization above the county. Every member of the Party and the Youth League was required to join in the selling of the book, to his friends and acquaintances as well as in the bazaars. Every branch of the committees had a selling quota to meet. Dancing teams, drum teams performed and marched on the streets to promote the sale. Salesmen were carrying books to every door.

With this kind of high-pressured salesmanship, Hsin-hua Book Company sold in three years (1950-1952): 2,491,531 copies of books; 733,348 periodicals; 1,848,555 textbooks; 2,973,762 international editions of books and periodicals (This included Chinese, Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, etc., among which 1,200,000 copies were textbooks.) This is a total of 8,037,196 copies. Broken down by languages, the figures were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Uighur | 4,018,595 | or 50% |
| Chinese | 2,813,019 | or 35% |
| Kazakh | 482,232 | or 6% |
| Mongolian | 160,744 | or 2% |
| Russian, Uzbek, etc. | 562,603 | or 7% |

Compared with the past, these figures are impressive. The impression is modified, however, when the distributed titles are examined. Many of these publications were documents, handbooks, or propaganda pamphlets.

Among these, the periodical The Sinkiang Propagandist was distributed in 782,902 copies in three years. Another best seller was the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, translated into Uighur,

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

| Year | No. Copies Published | No. Periodicals |
|---|---|---|
| 1936 (Pre-Communist record year) | 178,000,000 | 32,300,000 |
| After: | | |
| 1950 | 274,632,630 | 35,301,679 |
| 1951 | 669,639,911 | 176,774,253 |
| 1952 (estimation) | 882,000,000 | 180,000,000 |

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

| | Titles | Copies |
|---|---|---|
| Local Publishing Houses | 835 | 8,730,000 |
| Nationality Publishing House in Peking | 201 | 1,967,000 |
| Total | 1,036 | 10,697,000 |

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

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Representative Meeting
20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:
Noon:
12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.
12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:
19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law
19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.
20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.
20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

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These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural district in Sinkiang.

These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

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Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being constantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai, Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

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VI. Movies and Lantern Slides

In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

| Liberation Theater | Northwest Theater | A-fang Palace Theater |
|---|---|---|
| 3:15, 6:45, 9:15 | 2:45, 6:15, 8:45 | 2:15, 5:45, 8:15 |

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Ch'üan-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)
Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

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● 197 According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

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595
892 The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

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ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

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It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

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VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

# LABOR

I. "Free Labor

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464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N
[162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, N
[891] it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. Moreover, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N
low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted
*668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and
177 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the
167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of
[466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S
and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in
[464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border
[66] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

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464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This
701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the
708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction
668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in
• 177 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

464 An April 18, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liber-
701 ation Army in Sinkiang has started spring sowing on the plains
708 north and south of the T'ien-shan Mountains. Crops already
668 sown include spring wheat, oil-bearing plants and long
177 staple cotton. The army men are experimenting with the
241 cultivation of long staple cotton in the Turfan Basin, where favorable conditions exist. This year the PLA farming units will cultivate over 66,000 hectares, or thirteen percent more than last year. More than half of the land will be ploughed by tractors. Adequate supplies of chemical fertilizer and insecticides are on hand."

708 A June 3, 1955, despatch reports: "The largest reservoir
653 in Sinkiang is being enlarged this month by engineering units
312 of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Sinkiang. When
668 completed, the Men-chin reservoir, north of Urumchi, will
177 have a storage capacity of sixty million cubic meters of water
503 which can be used for irrigation."

464 An October 31, 1955 despatch reports: "A leading part has been played by the People's Liberation Army in irrigation works in Sinkiang. With their help, the peasants have constructed nine reservoirs, repaired irrigation canals and ditches, totalling 30,000 kilometers in length, built hundreds of new canals and added more subterranean waterways, a form of irrigation traditionally used in the region. In addition, the People's Liberation Army units have built and expanded works capable of irrigating 200,000 hectares, mostly farmed by local peasants. The army men also reclaimed over 73,000 hectares of wasteland and set up twenty-nine mechanized state farms."

708 A November 3, 1955, despatch reports: "Manass Basin
241 Agricultural Production Construction Troops of Sinkiang Military
668 District of the People's Liberation Army plan to grow cotton in
177 an area of 202,000 mou next year, one hundred forty-six percent
464 larger than this year. These troops are now actively undertaking
[248] the preparatory works."

A December 24, 1955, despatch reports: "A new mechanized farm has been built in the Manass Basin by PLA. It has some 10,000 hectares of well irrigated farmland, part of which has already been sown in winter wheat. They plan to supply the state with nine thousand tons of grain and twenty-eight hundred tons of cotton next year."

701 The constitution of the so-called People's Liberation Army
708 in Sinkiang has not been disclosed. But to use the regular army
464 as a labor force in peace time is, to say the least, forced labor
668 in disguise. (See section Forced Labor of General Handbook).
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III. Conscript Labor

SN 464 466 Forced labor in the strict sense, or "corrective" labor, has however also been amply used. Conscript labor solved several of the problems connected with the labor situation in the Northwest. "Free" or induced labor had to be given certain incentives, such as higher wages and better living conditions in order to overcome non-economic barriers to labor mibility, such as language barriers, differences of customs and living standards, differences of climate, etc. For skilled and semi-skilled labor these incentives might prove a worthwhile investment; for unskilled labor, however, a cheaper labor supply was desirable. Conscript labor would also overcome the problem of labor discipline, which is prone to be particularly serious among laborers working far from home. Specifically conscript labor could be employed at a level of subsistence far below the minimum to be paid to a recruited or induced labor force; it could be employed in dangerous work without the necessity of using costly safeguards against accidents; and it had the advantage of perfect mobility and could be moved around without regard to family and other social ties. In the following, some reports, mostly collected in summer 1955 among Turkestani refugees are given to throw some light on the extent of conscript labor used in the Northwest.

S 464 466 697 668 199 648 From a refugee in a colony in Yugoslavia, called Yengi Khotan "New Khotan":

In 1950 at an open People's court session in Cherchen, former Kuomintang officials, influential merchants and land-owners were tried, sentenced and dispossessed of their property. They were transported to Charklik (Chin.: Cho-chiang) from where they proceeded in a southeastern direction where a new auto highway was being constructed. The prisoners were formed into working units which were led by Soviet soldiers of the Seventh Regiment. Halim estimates that at least six to ten thousand prisoners were working between Charklik and Timurlik. Each three hundred men was headed by a Russian corporal or sergeant. He said that the real masters of the area were the Russians, and he repeatedly emphasized that the latter treated even the Chinese Communist officials with no respect. Furthermore, he saw several mining projects in this area, especially gold mines. When he was transferred to the area of Tash-Kurghan (Turk.: Stone tomb) in 1953, he managed to flee to the Wakhan area of Afghanistan.

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S 464 466 697 499 668 199 Reports, published in Turk-i-stan, Arabian edition, March 1955, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, give a limited account of the railway construction between Turfan and Hami. It states that since May, 1953, about 80,000 prisoners have worked there. The main body of prisoners consisted of Chinese, but there were also thousands of New-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Mongols and

Tibetans. The prisoners were organized in military fashion, i.e., squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments, led by Chinese of the so-called Transport Army Corps. The prisoners had to work twelve hours a day. They were rigidly guarded by means of machine gun towers. Due to undernourishment, overwork and rough weather conditions the death ratio was about thirty to fifty men a day. The equipment was of Russian origin and handled by Russian "specialists."

According to the same source about 180,000 were employed in levelling the terrain and building the embankment for the railway tracks on the route between Kulja-Wusu-Urumchi and Turfan. The prisoners were mainly Chinese but heavily intermingled with minority groups, either condemned insurgents, court-martialled soldiers or people who were tried by People's Courts for being "kulaks," saboteurs, "capitalistic spies" or former independent tribal leaders. Entire Tibetan tribes of the Sinkiang-Tibetan border area, who repeatedly revolted between 1950 and 1953 were finally captured and brought to the Bogda-Ula (mountain range with elevation up to 17,000 feet ) where the passes and tunnels for a railway were constructed. The Communists first used Chinese prisoners but the death rate was extremely high because the Chinese, who were sent mainly from China proper, could not become accustomed to the rough climate of the T'ien-shan mountain range. The construction took place under the supervision of the 18th cavalry regiment of the 9th Soviet Cavalry division. Technicians and "specialists" are mainly Soviets. Administrators are Chinese Communists. At the same time Chinese military units are trained by Russians in regard to embankment constructions.

In the coal and petroleum area of Wusu, Urumchi and Kurla about 35,000 prisoners worked, reinforced by Soviet and Chinese engineers and technicians. Dozens of mountain roads were built by pioneer units of the People's Transport Army Corps which do all the dynamiting and bridge building, while prisoners do routine work.

Two Turkic refugees, now living in Germany, reported that they were working for an irrigation building co-op in Mazartagh on the Khotan River. Those co-ops usually receive fifty to a hundred prisoners as handymen, who are guarded by a few Chinese soldiers, who are stationed at the co-op.

Another Turkic refugee who was sentenced to ten years (1950) for underpaying his employees in his fur trade enterprise was sent to the oil field near Yü-men in Kansu. His sentence was reduced to two years when he saved a bulldozer at the risk of his life when an oil shaft blew up. He said about 18,000

prisoners work on the oil fields. When he returned to his home town Keriya in 1953 he had to go through Soviet control posts at the Sinkiang-Kansu border towns of Hsinhsingsia and Kushui.

After his flight, the former Aksakal of Kizilbulak (northeast of Aksu) Abdul Azizi Hajji wrote an article in the Turkish newspaper Ulus, July 15, 1955, relating how all cities along the line Kashgar, Aksu, Karashahr, Urumchi, Turfan, Hami, Kulja, Ili, Chuguchak, including the Tarbagatai region, are occupied by at least four Soviet dividions, two of which definitely have been identified as tank dividions, equipped with T34 models.

A copy of the well-informed newspaper Al-Mizir (Cairo) of May 19, 1955, says that the total number of prisoners who are used as forced labor amounts to 380,000 in Sinkiang alone.

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S 759 C. Efforts of the Government in the Field of Health and Sanitation

S [177] Only a few doctors in Eastern Turkestan have a Western scientific training. Most of them are either Chinese or Europeans (White Russians). Lately, however, young Turkic people possessing a formal education have been sent to Western Turkestan and to China Proper to study in medical colleges. Awareness S 759 of the lack of proper medical personnel and equipment in Sinkiang 743 first inspired the Nationalists to try to open clinics and hospitals in Sinkiang. The Communists have followed in their steps with a S 743 somewhat more extensive program, according to their reports. 744 Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous 668 Region, with the aim of combating the most common diseases in 177 the area. They have facilities for innoculation against certain diseases, and place particular emphasis on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

S 874 In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet the problem of lack of medical personnel. The Communists announced that "Sinkiang's new medical college...is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here in June from S 874 other parts of the country to take up their posts. The medical 743 college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily." (NCNA, Urumchi, April 19, 1955).

III. Health and Sanitation among the Tibetans of Chinghai

N * 563 262 A. The Diet of the Tibetan People

Regardless of whether he be rich or poor, farmer or nomad, the diet of the Tibetan consists primarily of four staples, grain (primarily parched and roasted barley), meat, cheese and butter. However, the questions of wealth and mode of life determines the relative proportions of each of the staples. The parched barley, or tsamba is generally added to the buttered tea and the consequent mush is eaten. The sedentary Tibetans resort most frequently to pork or small game animals, such as marmots, for their meat supply. Very few of the farmers can afford beef or mutton as a staple. Yak cheese and the curds of soured yak and sheep milk are favorite items, the latter often counting as a sort of dessert. The nomadic diet uses much less of the grain and is preponderantly meat, including yak-beef and mutton, butter and other dairy products. The Tibetans eat almost every part of the animal except its hooves and hide. The wealthy Tibetans, and the poorer ones

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Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

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The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

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The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

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In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
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• 177 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
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657 5 million yuan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
177 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
177 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innoculation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
177 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the
779 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

648 the geographic location of Sinkiang, the lack of adequate transpor-
177 tation facilities, and recently because of the added political complications, foreigners are limited to Chinese, Russians, Turkic and Iranian peoples from Soviet Central Asia, Mongols, Afghans, and Indians. Only a few Europeans (Türk: Frenkler) have visited Sinkiang (with the exception of Russians in recent times), and even fewer of them have remained there for any length of time.
[799] A few European missionaries (most noted among them were the Swedish missionaries in Kashgar), British consular officers, Russian Communist diplomatic representatives and White Russian emigrees constituted the foreign colony in Kashgar, prior to the Communist regime. Today the missionaries and British consular staff members are no longer in Sinkiang.

The attitude of the Turkic people to the Western foreigners has, in general, been quite hospitable and friendly, since they did not constitute a sizable minority and had no apparent intentions which threatened the freedom and way of life of the inhabitants (with the exception of the Soviet Consulate members who engaged in espionage and intrigue in the province). People like C.P.Skrine (who served as the British consul in Kashgar) and Owen Lattimore, give the impression that the people, and particularly the nomadic ones, were hospitable and friendly and regarded the Europeans with a great deal of curiosity and interest. Misafirperverlik 'hospitality' is generously observed by all Turks, by nomadic Turks more so than by the sedentary.

The attitude toward the better-known neighbors is somewhat different. The Chinese, who both do and do not fall under the category of foreigners in Sinkiang, are regarded with great animosity, as mentioned above. The opposition of the native to both the Chinese colonizers and the administration has been extremely strong. The Russian Communists are not regarded with much more love, since the Eastern Turkis feel deeply involved in the fate of their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan. The great
[167] waves of West Turkic refugees [mostly Kirghiz and Kazakh] to East Turkestan in 1917 and 1944 have kept the Eastern Turks informed on the situation.

[439] Friendly trade relations are usually the basis for the relationships with the Mongols, Indians and Afghans. Although they do not mix quite freely with the Eastern Turks, they are in general accepted and not regarded with animosity by the Turks.

181 F. The Concept of 'Individualism' (Turk: ferdiyetcilik)

The sedentary Turks of Sinkiang are in general highly independent and individualistic people. This individualism finds its expres-
[626] sion in the daily ways and habits of the Turkic people. The pressure to conform to a set of ideas and a set pattern of behavior is slight. The laxity in observance of the religious customs, in

181 spite of the strong feeling of identification with Islam, the looseness of the family ties, the absence of any clan ties among the sedentary population, and the tremendous amount of individual economic independence, are indicative of this trend of individualism in the Turkic sedentary society.

The traditional economic structure of the urban society, which is based on the small individual merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, is probably the main contributor to the individualistic nature which developed in this society.

Individualism in the Turkic society is not a conscious intellectual movement (although it is reflected in much of the Turkic literature), but is a product of spontaneous historical evolution of the
181 society. The establishment of a strong Communist regime with
668 its exceedingly numerous social controls on the life of the individ-
• 179 ual is an unnatural imposition on this society. The stress on conformity to set a pattern of thought and behavior, the encroachment on the individual liberties, and above all the destruction of the individual economic basis, will probably destroy much of the individualistic traditions of the Turkic society.

181 The situation differs in some respects in the nomadic tribal
184 society, where the individual depends so strongly on the society for his economic and cultural needs as well. Here the individual's freedom of action and expression is curtailed to fit the pressing needs of the society as a whole. The family and clan ties are much stronger and more important.

181 G. The Concept of Freedom

183 While the Chinese, living in the same environment as the Turks,
192 even lack a proper term for 'freedom', the Turks feel so strongly and emotional about 'freedom', that they have an abundant number of different words for it, just as the Mongols have hundreds of words for military and tactical matters.

Words for freedom are, besides istiklal (of Arabian origin and most used), hürrüyet (e.g. söz hürriyeti 'freedom of speech'), serbestlik (the Eastern Turks often refer to their struggle for freedom as to serbestlik harbi 'the war or campaign for independence'), muafiyet, azadelik, etc.

181 The concept of freedom goes back to the nomadic tribes of
183 Central Asia. The freedom enjoyed by the nomad is one of the most highly valued of his treasures. The sedentary Turks still look up to the nomads, whose way of life they have given up centuries ago. Their literary and cultural traditions have come down from their nomadic forefathers, and with them the concept of the unlimited freedom of the steppe people.

The traditional concept of freedom was not of Turkic origin alone; the Arabic influence on the Turkic civilization has left its
[192] marks here also. The word that designates freedom in Turkish

181 is "istiklal" which is actually an Arabic loan word. Istiklal means
183 both freedom and independence. Along with the nomadic concep-
[192] tion of the freedom of movement in the vast steppes, there is also a reflection of the concept of political independence and being one's own master. The 19th and 20th centuries brought additional associations to the word freedom. Along with the rise of nationalistic
181 aspirations, which resulted indirectly from the similar movements
183 in Europe, some Western ideas and notions have reached Turkes-
668 tan indirectly also. Though the Western full concept of freedom
• 177 and democracy is not comprehended among the majority of the people of Eastern Turkestan, it has added more depth and breadth to the concept of freedom. The awareness of the need for political freedom has grown in Sinkiang in the last century. Sinkiang's history in this period indicates the strong desires and wishes of its people to be free of Chinese rule, or any other foreign domination. The Turkic people strongly resent and resist the encroachment on their freedom of action and political decision. This feeling of resentment is not only experienced by the more sophisticated sedentary population, aspiring for political independence, but is also shared by the nomadic people. The Communists have made attempts to either encroach on their freedom of movement in their searches for pasture land, or have completely attempted to sedentarize them. Thus, not only the economic existence of the nomads is threatened, but the freedom characteristic of their way of life is in danger also. The Communists have not only arrested the political freedom of the Turks and their desires for independence, but have also touched on their traditional values associated with their nomadic past, and threatening the existence of the nomads today.

H. Attitude toward Change

177 There are elements of both resistance and of desire for change
178 among the Eastern Turkis. The dominating social and economic
565 classes - consisting of the wealthy merchants (the Türks call them 'pek mühim ve zengin tüccar' , verbatim: "the very important and rich merchants'), landowners (Türk: Emlak sahibi), and clergy (Türk: Rahibler) - opposed change which threatened to undermine their social and material status. The general population aspired to raise their social position and standards of living, but at the same time did not wish to lose their leaders to whom they have always looked for direction and guidance. There is no question that no section of the society aspired to a forced, radical type of change for which they were not prepared. This type of change in the social structure, the complete leveling off of the social classes, with only the party hierarchy in a superior position, which was forced down on the population by the Communists, is an artificial product for which the Turkic society was not ready, nor willing to inflict upon itself.

179 inflict upon itself.
178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

179 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
921 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the
919 great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 779 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.

J. Material Concepts

556 183 [565] One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song indicates:

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"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Turkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

815 is not quite clear in the minds of the people - they are acquainted
668 with the science of medicine, for which they have great respect,
177 they are bombarded by propaganda telling them of the evil uses of scientific discoveries, mainly the "germ warfare" supposedly launched against China by the United States, and they are encouraged to adopt a "scientific" attitude toward the ideology of Communism, the science of revolution.

829 Industrialization is, for the most part, a thing of the future
668 as far as Sinkiang is concerned. The Turks do not even have a
177 word for industry. They use now the term caliskanlik, meaning
[439] industriousness. Not much has been done in this field, and the products of industry have been brought to Sinkiang from China Proper and Soviet Russia. Since the process of industrialization will so strongly affect a large part of the urban population consisting of independent small artisans, shopkeepers and merchants, it is very likely that these groups will not look with favor at this process.

423 With the strong emphasis that the Turkic people put on owner-
668 ship of property, particularly landed property, it is only natural
177 that great resistance is encountered from both the small farmers and the big landowners to the process of collectivization. The incentive to work will, in many cases of collectivization, be taken away from the farmers, when they are not allowed to anjoy the products of their labor. Collectivization is forced on the Turkic people, and involves a basic change in their economic outlook and ideas. Collectivization may not affect the tenants as strongly, since they have never tilled their own land, and the loss to them is not as great, economically or psychologically, as it is to those who owned their land, no matter how small their property was.

K. Attitude toward the Present Political Regime

829 Communist sources describe the reaction of the national
668 minorities to the new regime and its leaders as follows: "Political
177 consciousness is rising; the people's love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their homeland is heightened by all that is happening day by day (Ulanfu, Vice-Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs, Report of the General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities), or, "The growth of the movement to resist United States aggression and aid Korea has further added to the education in patriotism among our national minorities whose overwhelming majority deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government."

In spite of these statements, it is difficult to conceive how the Turks so "deeply love and warmly support" a Chinese leader who has not brought about the fulfillment of their national aspirations, but those of Chinese nationalism, and who has united them not with the world of Islam but with the Communist block. The glori-

fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies. Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives of the local population fill prominent positions in the local government also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not constitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsaidam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S 563 642 643 109 829 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 109 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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# THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

## I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

## II. The Constitutional Systems

### A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

175 178 668 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

## VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

### A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 668 642 563 179 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relegation of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples,

175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.
• 177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated
668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities
642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952,
563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture, any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since... it would undermine the interests of the various races and particularly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism." (JMJP October 2, 1951).

Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationalities in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and n ationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the "notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

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under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

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Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exercise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).

On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

## VIII. Prospects

The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor
668 was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
414 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
578 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors. As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused
563 by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
578 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited
[794] areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[595] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

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184 B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
577 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V.A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was
S usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
N in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
681 people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
184 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
674 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 85% of all households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Furthermore, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.). It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

4. Religious organizations

Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, especially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000 members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed. It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very near future.

C. Centers of Resistance Abroad

It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a centralized system of police and military control. All that can be expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition, nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain political significance only when military aid from abroad is available. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime and sided with the Germans. At present only two important centers of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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242 The Soviet Union sent
668 thirty-three airplanes and large numbers of locust experts to
433 spray insecticides over an area of some 2,669,000 mow (or
[177] 405,688 acres) during 1952-1955. On the state farms, the Army
[475] has done the lion's share of the work of reclaiming land, building
[701] irrigation works, erecting experimental farms and stations and operating them. (Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955. p. 7, No. 9.)

654 The Communists reported that they have given financial and
668 technical assistance to the various nationalities who till the soil
241 or engage in pastoral activities. By the end of 1954, agricultural
175 loans totalling some 26,140,000 yuan (U.S. $1,061) and some 46,000 farming implements had been supplied to the peasants, enabling every peasant household to have one trowel of its own and every 1.3 households to own a plow. These small figures indicate that assistance has been meagre; but even this might enable the peasants to increase output as compared to output obtained by previous farming implements.

241 Whether agriculture will prosper in Sinkiang depends entirely
312 on the steps taken in water conservancy and the proper utilization
668 of water. Already five million additional mow of land (160,000
175 acres) have been irrigated in the past six years and the irrigated acreage in 1954 has been increased by 30.2 per cent since 1949. Reservoirs have been constructed like the well-known "Red Wild Goose Reservoir" and the "Peace Reservoir" which both now irrigate more than 237,000 mow (36,024 acres of land). Three
[475] state farms, collective farms, and a dozen or so agricultural co-
[474] ops have been formed in the area.

231 By the end of 1954, the total number of livestock in the whole
433 province numbered 17,105,000 head, an increase of 7.47 per cent
175 over 1953. (In 1947 the total number of livestock was 15,037,000.
668 The figure reported for 1954 indicates a 13 per cent increase.) The plan for 1955 is to raise the number fo 18,987,567 head, a net increase of 11 per cent. This will include 537,280 head of large and small animals of improved breed (including 515,792 sheep, 7,930 large domestic animals, 13,538 pigs); 2,839,140 head of livestock will be innoculated against or cured of various diseases. The Chinese Communists complain, however, of many defects in animal husbandry. During the past winters, insufficient feed was gathered and many animals died. It was estimated that some 200,000 died in the spring of 1954, an approximate loss of one per cent per annum.

313 The forestry policy has been to protect existent forests from
668 fire and damage, to survey forest areas suitable for afforestation, to plant saplings there, and to afforestate areas near rural villages for the development of co-ops and state farms. Each year, the quota mou to be afforestated is set and state departments undertake to meet these quotas. Nurseries have been built and seedlings planted in these tracts.

4. Sinkiang

Industrial development in Sinkiang is perhaps the fastest in the entire Northwest. As early as 1950, four Sino-Soviet joint-stock companies were established in Urumchi, of which three were industrial plants. They were: (1) Sino-Soviet Non-ferrous Metals Company, (2) Sino-Soviet Rare Metals Company, (3) Sino-Soviet Petroleum Company and (4) Sino- Soviet Airlines. All the Soviet stocks were reportedly transferred to China at the end of 1954, but the Soviet technicians have remained there to help train the Chinese workers.

After the Communists took over, the Sinkiang Petroleum Company has been greatly expanded. Its crude oil output in 1955 is said to have been sixty-three percent higher than in 1954, and deep testing wells were being sunk in five new districts in the Gobi Desert to investigate their oil reserves. The five districts are located in the Turfan and Dzungaria Basins in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region.

Another important industrial plant in Sinkiang is the July First Cotton Mill, which began production in 1952. In early 1955, 16,500 spindles and 600 looms were added, which will double the mill's cloth output. The total number of spindles was then over 30,000 and of looms, one thousand. This is the first modern textile mill built in Sinkiang, and it supplies the thirteen nationalities there with a rich variety of fabrics manufactured from the cotton grown in the province itself.

According to the province's initial plans, the investment in capital construction during 1955 is to be increased by over sixty percent as compared with 1954. A total of twelve construction jobs are to be newly built or rebuilt. Preparations are under way for these works. Among the new projects are a modern cement factory, a sulphuric acid factory, a small hydraulic power plant and an oil pressing mill. The cement factory was expected to have its first stage of construction completed in 1956. When completed, this factory will save the state a total of ten million yuan each year in the cost of transporting cement from China Proper. When the sulphuric acid factory starts production, it will supply all the raw material needed for printing and dyeing works by the July First Cotton Mill.

The eight units to be rebuilt in 1955 include the Liu-tao-wan Colliery, the Sinkiang Machine Works, the Ceramic Factory, and the First Cement Factory. When the underground tunnel of the Liu-tao-wan Colliery is rebuilt, it will be possible to produce more coal for the industries and local residents of Urumchi. The output of modern farming tools will be increased when the Sinkiang Machine Works is rebuilt. After a set of automatic equipment is added to the glass workshop of the Ceramic Factory, there will be nineteen additional kinds of new products to supply the market.